

## A LAST LOOK AT COOK'S GUUGU YIMIDHIRR WORD LIST

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THE word list Lieutenant James Cook collected in 1770 while the *Endeavour* underwent repairs near what is now Cooktown, Northern Queensland, represents the first written record of an Australian language. Through Cook's journal this language, the modern Guugu Yimidhirr (usually spelled Koko Yimidir), gave the world the word "kangaroo".<sup>1</sup> It is thus not surprising that subsequent investigators, at the turn of the century and in the last few years, have compared items in Cook's wordlist with contemporary Gungu Yimidhirr words. Roth (1901) worked primarily with data collected in the 1890's by the Lutheran missionary, Rev. G. H. Schwarz, at Hope Vale mission. And de Zwaan (1969a) bases his wordlist on fieldwork carried out in 1967, detailed in de Zwaan (1969b).

Roth (1901: 6) finds the words in Cook's vocabulary "of great interest, nearly all being recognizable". By contrast de Zwaan (1969a) claims that the language has undergone phonological changes since 1770 and has lost or introduced words in nine cases out of forty-eight. Breen's (1970) excellent reexamination of the data brings these last conclusions into doubt. In this article, I suggest on the basis of my own recent fieldwork<sup>2</sup> that of the three lists—Cook's (and Banks') of 1770, Roth's of 1901, and de Zwaan's from 1967—the earliest is arguably the best, i.e., the most accurate in terms of modern spoken Guugu Yimidhirr.

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<sup>1</sup> The reader is perhaps familiar with the apocryphal story that Cook, on seeing this strange creature hopping about, asked a native what it was called and received the reply "Kangaroo . . ." —meaning in the vernacular, "I don't know". Modern Guugu Yimidhirr retains the word *gangurru*, which refers to a species of large black kangaroo, now, unhappily, rarely seen in the area. And see item (60) below.

In this paper I write Guugu Yimidhirr words in a practical orthography recently introduced at Hopevale, using doubled vowels (e.g. *aa*, *dh*, *dy*, *ng*, *rr*, and *r* for the more normal *a*, *d*, *dy*, *ŋ*, and *r* respectively). See below the brief description of Guugu Yimidhirr phonemes.

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At the same time I hope to reiterate some familiar morals about elicitation which are worth remembering, and which some researchers have obviously forgotten, even when they claim to have had at their "disposal the accumulated knowledge of phonetics and linguistics now available" (de Zwaan, 1969a: 205.)

Guugu Yimidhirr is spoken by perhaps seven hundred people, most of whom reside at or near Hope Vale Mission, thirty miles north of Cooktown. Before the European invasion the language was spoken over a wide area, from Cooktown in the south, north past the McIvor River to the present Starcke Station, and from the coast inland at least to the source of Jack River. Each locale within the language was reputed to have a separate dialect, and the few survivors from each area still have distinct dialectical styles. De Zwaan (1969a: 199) mentions "the three dialects of Gogo-Yimidjir" without details. In fact the language spoken now at Hope Vale is a conglomeration of tongues. A large percentage of adults living at the mission are native speakers of other languages who have learned Guugu Yimidhirr as the *lingua franca* of the community. There has been considerable phonological and lexical interference from neighbouring languages and from English. Only a few true native speakers, mostly over forty-five years of age, still speak what they consider to be the *real* Guugu Yimidhirr; these men maintain a strict distinction between two dialects: Coastal (*dhalun-dhurr*= "with the sea") and Inland (*wagurr-ga*= "of the outside"). Inland dialect speakers are presently in the majority, and Inland vocabulary predominates in modern speech.<sup>3</sup>

It is possible to distinguish what amounts to a separate dialect in the so-called Mother-in-Law or Respectful language<sup>4</sup> used traditionally when addressing certain relatives whom one was obliged to avoid, proto-typically the mother-in-law, but also father-in-law and brother-in-law.<sup>5</sup> Even among old men, this dialect is barely remembered today. I found only one man who could easily recall the Respectful equivalents of most ordinary language words, though several others recognized such words when they heard them. The importance of this dialect for present purposes (Cook clearly heard no Mother-in-Law words) lies in the fact that the Respectful language uses as few words as possible. Thus, many different ordinary words may be rendered in Mother-in-Law by a single word or phrase. It will be convenient, at least in this article, to assume that the vocabulary of the Respectful language contains the semantic primitives ("nuclear words", cf. Dixon, 1971) of the language.

<sup>3</sup> Several of the older men criticised the speech of a younger man heard on a tape because he mixed both Inland and Coastal words in the same sentence.

<sup>4</sup> This style is variously labelled "high language" or, "centre language" in English, or *dhabul* ("forbidden") in Guugu Yimidhirr. For a description of a different Mother-in-Law language see Dixon (1971).

<sup>5</sup> In fact, in this area, a man was not permitted to address his mother-in-law at all, but only communicated with her through his wife. The dialect was used with one's wife's male relatives; certain ordinary words could also be used with such people, so long as they were pronounced softly and slowly. Hence, some people refer to the style this way: *dani-manaarnaya* ("becoming soft and slow"). One man explained to me that "chiefs of tribes would use those words with each other".

Cook's list, collected directly on the beach, gives, where there are alternate lexical item, the Coastal variants. A modern investigator might encounter few of these words in the speech of present inhabitants of Hope Vale, in which Coastal words (still familiar to most) have been crowded out of use by Inland equivalents.

The phonological system of Guugu Yimidhirr is typically Australian. (Cf. Dixon, 1972). There are five points of articulation for stops and nasals, as follows (see footnote 1):

bilabial	lamo- dental	lamo- palatal	apico- alveolar	dotso- velar
b	dh	dy	d	g
m	nh	ny	n	ng

There are two semi-vowels, *w* and *y*, a lateral *l*, a flap *r*, and a semi-retroflex continuant *r*.

Guugu Yimidhirr has the normal three vowels—*i*, *a* and *u*—and vowel-length is significant. Stress falls normally on the first syllable of a word; except that a long vowel is stressed. Consider the following pairs:

<i>nhila</i>	..	..	..	now, soon
<i>nhilaa</i>	..	..	..	new
<i>nyuluugu gundaya</i>	..	..	(N.B.: <i>(gundaya)</i> ).	
			(Watch out!) he might hit (you).	
<i>nyuluugu gundaaya</i>	..	..	He will hit (or kill) himself by and by.	

The existence of long vowels proves important in interpreting earlier transcriptions of Guugu Yimidhirr words.

This description of the phonemes contrasts rather sharply with that of de Zwaan (1969b), who claims that "palatalization" is not distinctive, and who describes five vowel phonemes—*a*, *i*, *u*, *e* and *o*—but consistently transcribes words with the letter *e* as well (e.g., /beba/ ("father").) All occurrences of *e* in de Zwaan's transcriptions represent allophones of the phoneme (*i*), and occurrences of *o* divide evenly between the phonemes (*a*) and (*u*).<sup>4</sup>

\* DeZwaan gives no satisfactory arguments for maintaining separate phonemes for /ø/ (let alone /ɛ/). As for the two laminal series, I offer the following pairs for the reader's inspection:

<i>gadii</i>	..	..	..	come!
<i>gadhii</i>	..	..	..	far away
<i>wudhi</i>	..	..	..	gave
<i>wudyi</i>	..	..	..	fast, strong (wind)
<i>dyindal</i>	..	..	..	bite
<i>dindal</i>	..	..	..	quick
<i>dunhu</i>	..	..	..	husband
<i>dunu</i>	..	..	..	blunt, dull
<i>ganhil</i>	..	..	..	song type
<i>ganyii</i>	..	..	..	brother-in-law

In the light of these facts we must reject de Zwaan's (1969a) claim that men's and women's speech differ by a presumption for men to use "palatalized variants" of stops (voiced) and women "unpalatalized" stops. Such phoneme crossing does not occur, and would undoubtedly create chaos. In fact, either laminal stop may be misheard as a simple alveolar stop if unaspirated. Men do as an ordinary palatal if heavily (forcefully) aspirated. Style indeed seems to decree that men speak more forcefully, and hence tend to aspirate laminal stops and nasals more strongly, than women; these phenomena may have led de Zwaan to his mistaken conclusions.

A prime motive for another look at Cook's word list is the failure of previous fieldworkers to give a satisfactory account of Guugu Yimidhirr phonemes.<sup>5</sup>

In Table 1 I have reproduced the word lists from Breen (1970). I consider his versions of Cook's and Banks' lists from 1770 to be definitive;<sup>6</sup> and his treatment of Roth's (1901) published material is accurate. What I have to say below may be taken as confirmation of Breen's general conclusions that—at least on the basis of the sixty or so words collected by officers of the *Endeavour*—Guugu Yimidhirr has changed little since 1770.

I consider each item on the list, following the numbering system of Table 1.

#### (1) head

Though the word in ordinary use today is *ngaabaay*, speakers recognize *gambungu* as Coastal dialect and as "Muni's word".<sup>7</sup> Roth's (1901: 6) suggestion that Cook's word is "a corruption of bai-tchir-tchir=to cover" is rendered less plausible by the fact that the modern form of the latter word is:

*baydyarr*, *baydyarrdyarr* (or *baydyadyarr*)—"covering (something)".

Cook's word does seem to be shaped like the progressive form of a verb stem, as, for example:

*wagil*, *wagiilgil* ("cut", "cutting").

Hence, the most likely explanation for the discrepancy between the 1770 word and the present word seems to be some sort of misunderstanding. (We can imagine Cook gesturing oddly (e.g., pointing, making covering motions), the natives responding with a description of what he was doing rather than a name for what(ever) he was trying to point out.)

#### (2) hair

The modern word is *muuri*. Roth's odd vowel may be an attempt to represent the long vowel, and the stray *y* in 1770 versions is plausibly due to the retroflex *r*.

\* Though Roth's (1901) vowels are somewhat muddled, he shows a clear awareness that, at least in certain contexts, the distinction between /d/ and /dh/ or /dy/ is significant. For example, on page 10 he lists the following two verbs:

<i>bandil</i> , <i>benden-dil</i>	..	..	count, cut
<i>ban-tchil</i> , <i>bantchen-chil</i>	..	..	wait, attend to, nurse,

corresponding to (my transcription):

<i>bandiindil</i>	..	..	chop
<i>bandyiyi</i> , <i>banxyllyinydyi</i>	..	..	wait.

The following also occurs in modern speech:

<i>bandyiyi</i>	..	..	dry.
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\* Breen informs me by letter, that in Cook's list, item No. 53 for "legs" should be *psegoorgo* rather than *peegoorgo*.

\* Muni (or munki "black") is the Guugu Yimidhirr name for Rev. Schwarz, who headed the Hope Vale Mission from the 1880's to World War II, and who translated much biblical material and many hymns into Guugu Yimidhirr. His transcriptions are inadequate, and his vocabulary was mixed and—according to modern informants—at least odd; but through repeated use in church, some of his words and phrases have gained a certain currency. A good example is the word "dabar-dabaygo" (which Roth (1901: 31) gives as "dabababago")—Schwarz's corruption of the Coastal word *dabarrabaygu* ("morning, early morning"). The corrupted version is read as Schwarz wrote it in Church lessons and hymns in the vernacular, though the word clearly is not part of ordinary speech—an example of a queer sort of reversed linguistic change.

TABLE I

Item Number	English Equivalent	James Cook (1770)	Sir Joseph Banks (1770)	W. E. Roth (1901)	J. D. de Zwaan (1967)
1	head	whagegee	wagegee	kambogo	gambogo
2	hair	morye or more	morye	mori	mori
3	eyes	meul	—	mil	mil
4	ears	meleca	melcea	miika	milga
5	lips	yembe or iembi	yembe	yimbî	yimbi (inland)
6	nose	donjoo	donjoo	bunu	bunu (coast)
7	tongue	unjar	unjar	ngendar	budil
8	beard	waller	waller	walar	walar
9	neck	—	doomboo	dumu (chest)	dumu (inland)
10	nipples	—	cayo	guyu-mil	guyu (breast)
11	hands	mangal	mangal	mangal	mangal
12	thighs	coman	coman	human	guman
13	navel	toolpoor or fulpur	toolpoor	dolbor	dulbur
14	knees	ponga	pongo	dunggo	dunggo
15	feet	edamal	edamal	temal	damal
16	heel	kniorro	—	nuro	nuro
17	cockatoo	wanda	—	awandar	wander
18	sole of foot	—	chumal	jammal	—
19	ankle	chongarn	chongarn	chungan	—
20	nails	kuhle	kuhle	gulgi	guip
21	sun	galan or gallan	gallan	ngalan	galan
22	fire	maianang or meanang	meanang	yoku	—
23	a stone	malba	malba	nambal	—
24	sand	ioo'wal, yowall or toralba	yowall	yimal (beach)	yimal (beach)
25	a rope or line	goorga or gurka	gurka	gursha	gumbin (gunga-whip)
26	a man	bamma or bâmd	bama	bama	bama
27	male turtle	poenja or poinga	poinja	bornda	bonda
28	female turtle	mamingo	mameingo	mami-nugu	mamigo
29	canoe	maragan	maragan	maragan	maragan (coast)
30	to paddle	—	pelonyo	birlinu (fut.)	wanga (inland)
31	sit down	—	takai (set down)	dakaya	bilinu (fut.)
32	smooth	cotta or kota	—	moimom	moymun
33	dog	(quoll)	—	goda	guda
34	pole cat	perpere or peer-peer	—	tehot	degot
35	loriquet	—	—	birbir	birbir
36	blood	—	garmbe	ganbi	ganbi
37	wood	—	yoku	yuqu	yuqu
38	bone nose-pin	—	tabul	debul	debul
39	a bag	—	dan-gara	runyin dimbur	runyin dimbur
40	arms	aco or acol	—	ngaku	ngaku (shoulder)
41	thumb	eboorbalga	—	ngakul (arm)	ngakul (arm)
			yerba balka (do like this)	gulur	gulur

TABLE I—continued

Item Number	English Equivalent	James Cook (1770)	Sir Joseph Banks (1770)	W. E. Roth (1901)	J. D. de Zwaan (1967)
42	fore, middle and ring finger	egalbaiga	—	galbai-go (long)	mayal-gulur
43	little finger	nakil or ebornakil	nakil or ebornakil	ngakin	ngakin
44	sky	here or heare	here or heare	—	—
45	a father	dungo	dungo	dungo	—
46	a son	iunurre	—	—	—
47	a great cockle	moenjo or moingo	moenjo or moingo	yumur	yumur
48	cocos yams	maracoin	maracoin	monji	monji
49	teeth	mulere or moile	mulere or moile	mulir	mulir
50	chin	iacal	iacal	bar-i	bar-i
51	penis	kereil or herrial	kereil or herrial	golon	golon
52	scrotum	coonal or kunnol	coonal or kunnol	bilbar (testicles)	dilbar, fundii (testicles)
53	legs	peergoongo	peergoongo	cherr	cherr
54	an exclamation	—	—	cherco	cherco
55	an exclamation	—	—	yarcau	yarcau
56	an exclamation	—	—	tut tut tut tut	tut tut tut tut
57	an exclamation	—	—	yie (here)	yie (here)
58	article	ge	ge	kapan-da ("marks-with")	yari (this)
59	white streaks painted on upper lip and breast	(carbanda)	—	ganguro	wurumugu (red kangaroo)
60	kangaroo	(kanguroo)	—	yaborego	—
61	a proper name	(yaparico)	—	—	—

## (3) Eyes

The correct spelling is *mil*. Again, Cook has clearly heard the long vowel and his spelling tries to represent it.

## (4) ear

In *milga*, the short, stressed *i* of the first syllable is easily heard as *e* or *ɛ*, especially by contrast to a long *i*. Roth and de Zwaan made the same mistake themselves, in item 34.

## (5) lips

*Yimbi* is unambiguously the modern word, all dialects. Cook does better than Roth or de Zwaan, whose claim about "bunu" as a Coastal word for "lips" is mistaken. (See the next item).

## (6) nose

The Inland word for "nose" (and, in fact, for "face") is *budhiil*. Its Coastal equivalent is *bunhu*. Interestingly, the Respectful language equivalent for *budhiil*

can be either *bunhabunha* or *bunhu*. Note, also, that Cook, unlike later investigators, has detected the laminal *nh*.

(7) *tongue*

Cook comes at least close to the modern *nganhdaar* given the loss of initial *ŋ* and making allowances for his misperception of an unstressed first syllable *a*. Again he has tried to represent the laminals.

(8) *beard*

No change to the modern *walarr*.

(9) *chest (not neck)*

No change to *dumu*, which means "one's whole front from neck to belly". Again we can imagine the 1770 investigator pointing vaguely to the lower part of the front of his neck in eliciting the word. Not unexpectedly, Guugu Yimidhurr speakers cut up the body differently than do English speakers, so that eliciting the names of body parts is a task requiring ingenuity and care.

(10) *breast*

The present word for "breast, nipple, milk (bad smell)" is *guyuu*, semantically linked to the (now rare) word *guyu* ("fish"). Bank's transcription at least shows a difference between the first and second vowels. Roth's "guyu-mil" clearly refers to "eye of the breast" or "nipple" (see item 3).

De Zwaan (1969a) must have intended "mara" as a Coastal word not for "breast" but for "hand". In fact, *marra* means "wing" and *mara* means "hand" in neighbouring Gugu Yalanji.

(11) *hand*

*Mangal* means both "hand" and "war".

(12) *leg*

*Guman* means "leg", but, in contrast to *ngarri* ("shin") it means "thigh". (See item 53).

(13) *navel*

The correct spelling is *dhulburr*, and again Cook has detected the crucial first laminal. Here too are more examples of allophones of /u/ being written as o, and of the *ad hoc* character of Cook's orthography.

(14) *knees*

In *bunggu*, since the final vowel is unstressed it is easily misperceived as o.

(15) *foot*

Breen (1970: 35) is undoubtedly right that Cook's spelling represents the words (my transcription):

*yiyi dhamal* ("This is (called) a foot.")

And see item 18.

(16) *heel*

The modern word is *nhuru*. Again Banks' word seems to take note of the initial lamino-dental nasal. The odd spelling for the last syllable in Bank's version may be due to the retroflex r.

(17) *(white) cockatoo*

An English speaker might easily be forgiven for failing to perceive a final r in this word: *waandaar*.

(18) *sole of foot*

A modern speaker would simply say "foot", or, to be specific, "inside of foot", i.e., *dhamal waruga*. In the Respectful language, one says *buyibuyi gimbal* ("soft part of foot"). Hence, as Breen suggests, the 1770 word is just the word for "foot", as in item 15. Note that the different environments may well have contributed to the variant hearings of the initial lamino-dental *dh*. (The word pronounced in isolation, rather than in a phrase as in item 15, might well be more forcefully enunciated, with the result that the first phoneme is perceived as a palatal.)

(19) *ankle bone*

The word for "ankle" is actually *nugal*. The modern *dhunggan* is a pointed bone, as for example, at the ankle, or heel. In any case, Banks' spelling is fairly close.

(20) *(finger or toe) nails*

*Gulgi* is correct.

(21) *sun*

*Ngalan* is correct.

(22) *fire*

As in other Australian languages, Guugu Yimidhurr uses the word for a substance to name it in any of its potential states. (See O'Grady, 1960). Hence, the word for "fire" is the same word for "wood", i.e., *yugu*. Ordinary speech makes no further specification.

*nyulu nhin-gaalnggay yugu-way*

could mean either "He was sitting on/by the tree" or, "He was sitting by the fire". It is possible to be more specific, as in Dr. Roth's lists:

*yugu minhdhil* ("hot") = "fire".

*yugu wudunggurr* ("light") = "flames".

The most likely word suggested to a modern speaker by the 1770 word "meanang" is *minha* ("meat, edible animal"). This interpretation is not totally implausible if, again, we imagine Cook to have pointed at a fire in or on which, not improbably, some meat or fish was cooking.

(23) *a stone*

The modern word is *nambal*. Dixon (persn. comm.) points out that many neighbouring languages have *walba* meaning "stone" or "flat stone". (See Breen, 1970 : 35).

(24) *sand*

The actual word for "sand" is *dhuugaar*. Cook has instead a better approximation than does de Zwaan of the word for "beach", *yuuaal*. Note that Cook's word "ioralba" might well be the locative case, "on the beach" (certainly a possible response to a pointed query about the beach—"What's this? Where are we?") which is alternately pronounced *yuualbi* or *yuualbay*.

Finally, it is worth pointing out that both *dhuugaar* and *yuuaal* as well as the words *yalmba* ("sandhill") and *diiguurr* ("gravel") have the same Respectful language equivalent, *nyinyiirr*; hence it is quite possible that a semantic shift has changed the 1770 word for "sand" into the modern word for "beach".

(25) *rope—whip*

The Coastal word for rope is *gurrgaa*, and the Inland word *gumbiin*. Again note that to say "rope" (or "string") in the Respectful language one uses the word *yarra*; but the word *gurrgaa* (pronounced slowly and softly) is maintained in the Respectful language to mean "whip".

(26) *man*

*Bama* traditionally meant "human being, person" and referred exclusively to aboriginal men and women, by contrast to white men.

(27) *male turtle*

The word is *buunhdha*. Again, Cook's version is the closest. Both Cook and Roth seem to have tried to represent the length of the first vowel. The laminal may have caused Cook to hear the *y* in the long first vowel. (In some words, the glide is present as an alternate pronunciation; e.g., both *gaadyil* and *gaydyil* occur, meaning "vomit").

(28) *female turtle*

The word is *maamiingu*. Again it seems possible to interpret the middle "ei" in Banks' transcription as representing length.

(29) *canoe*

De Zwaan is (finally) right: Inland *wangga*, Coastal *marragan*.

(30) *to paddle*

Banks' word is clearly the purposive form of the intransitive verb *biiil* ("paddle"), that is, *biiilnu* ("intend/want to paddle, in order to paddle"). Banks has portrayed the lamino-dental *nh*; Roth seems to have tried to represent the length of the first vowel.

(31) *sit down*

Banks' word suggests several intriguing possibilities. A few (somewhat simplified) remarks on Guugu Yimidhirr verbs are in order here. Transitive verb stems ending in *-al* normally form a past tense in *-ay*, a reflexive non-past in *-aaya*. Hence, with the root *gundal* ("hit, kill"), one finds the forms:

<i>nyulu gunday</i>	..	..	..	He killed it.
<i>nyuluugu gundaaya</i>	..	..	..	He'll kill himself (by and by).
<i>(nyundu) gundaayi</i>	..	..	..	Kill yourself!

The modern root \**dagal* occurs only with reflexive endings, meaning "sit down"—even though we must postulate an underlying (non-occurring) transitive form ending in *-al* since the reduplicated form *dagaalgaya* ("he is just in the act of sitting down") occurs. That is, in modern Guugu Yimidhirr, there is no form \**dagay*, which one would expect from Banks' word. (De Zwaan (1969a) lists this word in his word list, but de Zwaan (1969b) makes no mention of any transitive forms in the verb paradigm for this root). If there were such a word, it would mean exactly what Banks says, i.e., "set (something) down (past)". (Such a notion is currently expressed by a causative form: *dagaay-mani*, "set down"). It is entirely possible, and would be gratifyingly regular, if such a form did once exist in the language. There is also evidence to suggest that this stem represents the reflexive of *dgil* ("erect, build, set up"); in this case we might with equal plausibility consider Banks' word to be the modern *dagaayi* ("sit down!"). Roth's word is plainly *dagaaya* ("sit down by and by").

(32) *smooth (?)*

I can offer no interpretation for the 1770 word, "mierbarrar". The closest word I could elicit was *milbaar* ("Nautilus shell ornament")—an object that might well have been smooth, though this explanation is farfetched to say the least.

Breen (1970 : 36) remarks that "smooth" "would be a very difficult morpheme to elicit"; that Roth and de Zwaan at least were unsuccessful is clear from the following. The modern *muymunk* means not "smooth" but "fat, healthy looking (e.g., a bullock)". The Respectful equivalent for the word is either *munaal-munaal* ("fat"), *munaal-dhurr* ("with fat"), or simply *dhalga* ("big"). The word *dhulbaarrbarr* means "smooth" in the sense of "slippery".

(33) *dog*

The correct spelling is *gudaa*. In light of Breen's (1970 : 36) remarks it is worth mentioning that the Respectful equivalent of *gudaa* is *guguur* which also means "horse" and "rat".

(34) *native cat*

The modern name is *dhigul*.

(35) *loriquet*

*Birrbirr* is a red parrot with a green back.

(36) *blood*

The word is *ganbi*. Note that *gaambi* is a species of flying fox.

(37) *wood*

*Yugu* is correct (and see item 22).

(38) *bone nose-pin*

The word *dhabul* refers not only to the nose pin, but also to the Respectful language, and means "forbidden, untouchable, taboo". The Respectful language equivalent for the word in this last sense is no morpheme at all, but to touch one's nose.

(39) *a bag*

No modern word could be elicited for either "charngala" or "dan-gara", though Roth (1901: 14) lists the latter as meaning "a parcel rolled up in tea-tree bark". There are at least four modern words for "dilly-bag": *bun-ga*, *ngunyin*, *banyiin* and *dhindurr*, two of which are recognizable in de Zwaan's version.

(40) *arms (and shoulder)*

The modern spellings are *ngagu* ("shoulder") and *ngaagwul* ("arm"). We note once again the indeterminacy of ostensive definitions. Cook may have pointed to any part of the arm, from shoulder to wrist, expecting a one word answer. In fact, though *ngaagwul* may mean the whole arm, it may also mean "upper arm" when contrasted with *marda* ("forearm, wrist").

(41) *thumb*

There is, as Roth (1901: 7) points out, no particular word for "thumb". De Zwaan's word, which is actually *guluurr*, means "thumb, fingers, toes" or "kangaroo". Its Respectful language equivalent is simply *dhalgumu* ("hand"). In sign language, a closed fist with the thumb raised means "kangaroo"—further evidence that the word for "thumb" is semantically associated with kangaroos (by virtue of the marsupials' big toes).

It is hard to accept completely Roth's (1901: 7) explanation for Cook's word "eboorbalga"—that it is "probably=yerba balka—i.e., 'Thus make!', 'Do like this!'" The modern imperative of the verb *balgal* ("do, make") is not \**balga* but *balgala*. And the word "thus, that way, over there" is *yarrba*.

There is a suffix-*balga*, as in *manydaal-balga* ("along, beside the mountain"). And the word *balga-balga* means "ready, all set, just so". Nonetheless, it seems likely that Cook's attempt to elicit the name of thumb and fingers took the form of gestures misinterpreted by his informants. (See the next two items).

People often call the thumb *mangal ngamu* ("hand big"/or, "hand mother"), just as they call the fingers *mangal bidhagurr* ("hand little ones").

(42) *fingers*

Cook's word is, as Breen suspects, undoubtedly the phrase *yiyi gaabaaygu* ("this is long, very long, longer"). The phrase conjures an image of how Cook might have elicited the words. He holds up his hand, thumb outstretched, with a questioning look. His interlocutor imitates the gesture and exclaims "This is the big one . . ." (rendered into modern Guugu Yimidhirr, this would be something like *yiyi warrga*—another phrase reminiscent of Cook's item 41). Next he extends his middle fingers and says, "These are the long ones . . ." What do we expect for the little finger?

(43) *little finger*

The word *ngagin* means "little finger, little toe", but its Respectful language equivalent is simply *yigal* ("small"). If we interpret Cook's "eboor" as some mysterious form of *yiyi* ("this") (see item 58), then the scenario concludes with our hypothetical informant telling Cook, "And this one is the little one . . ." (*yiyi . . . ngagin*).

(44) *sky*

The modern word (originally just a Coastal word) is *dyiiri*. The retroflex *r* and the long *i* might well have affected Cook's perception of the vowels. Breen's (1970: 36) comment on the likelihood of mishearing a lamino-alveolar (what I have called laminopalatal) as /k/ is especially relevant here. And see item (51) where the same comment applies.

(45) *father*

Ego calls (at least) his father and his father's younger brother *biba*. The term *dunhu* includes female ego's husband and any ego's sister's husband, and probably once extended to any same generation male of the opposite moiety. The present Guugu Yimidhirr kinship system is complex and rapidly changing, and I cannot pretend to have mastered it. Cook may well have assumed a particular young girl's husband to be her father.

(46) *son*

*Yumurr* refers to male ego's children or any ego's brother's children, i.e., ultimately to next generation individuals in the same patrilineal moiety.

(47) *a great cockle*

Both a certain variety of large clam shell and the area of the Jack River are called *muunhdhi*. Cook represents the laminal cluster in his version of the word; both he and de Zwaan seem to have heard a (y), engendered no doubt by the articulation of the succeeding phonemes.

(48) *cocos, yams*

I can offer no explanation at all for Cook's word. The correct spellings of the other words are *gaanga* ("yam"), and Coastal *dyirimandi* ("coconut").

(49) *teeth*

The modern word is *multir*, no change from Cook's list.

(50) *chin*

The modern word is *baari*. A possible modern word for Cook's "iacal" is *dhagal* ("front, the lead, first") which now occurs in expressions like *dhagaabbi uuuri* ("he took the lead in the dance, he danced out in front").

(51) *penis*

Three current words, *gunul*, *gulun*, and *buru*, among others, refer to the penis; all are impolite words. Cook's word is plainly the modern *dhirril* ("pubic hair")—note again the misperception of a lamino-dental stop as /k/. Nowadays all these words are vulgar; it is little wonder that Cook mistook the referents when trying to get the names straight. There is no reason to suppose a semantic shift instead of a simpler and understandable embarrassed confusion.

(52) *scrotum*

*Gunul*, as I note above (and as Breen suspected) really means "penis". *Dilmbar* is a vulgar word meaning "testicles"; *gundit* means, literally, "egg", but also has the joking sense de Zwaan indicates.

(53) *legs*

The modern word *ngarri* means "shin". As for Cook's word we may legitimately wonder how he elicited it. That is, having already gotten a word for "thigh" (item 12), how did he specify to his informants that he wanted the name for the whole of the leg (which is rendered by *guman* anyway)?

The word Cook gives is most like the modern *biguurrugu* which refers to something sticking out, a stick, prongs on a spear or the spine on a jewfish. Roth (1901: 14) glosses his word "pe-gur" as "wooden pin pixing and crinkled extremities of the bark trough". The modern *bigur* is a pin or drill (used in spear making), often made from wallaby shin bone or the spine on a jewfish (*bigudhurr*). It is not hard to imagine a context in which Cook's query (or the native's response with this word) could have been misinterpreted.

(54) *exclamation*

The word *dyirr* is still used to express surprise, as when a swarm of bees rush out, or a fast boat or automobile passes by. It is not unlike the English word "whoosh!" used in similar circumstances.

(55) *exclamation*

The (rare) word *dyirrgu* means "very strong tasting, bitter". Its Respectful equivalent is *ngambuy* ("very salty"). Breen (1970: 33) quotes Banks as writing of these exclamations that they were "expressions maybe of admiration which they continually used while in company with us". We may speculate that Banks was mistaken in supposing this word (if, indeed, it is the word he heard) to be admiring—for example, when applied to unfamiliar (perhaps salty?) food.

(56) *exclamation*

The closest modern word to either Banks' or Roth's words is *yirrgii*, the imperative of *yirrgaa* ("speak, talk"). It means "speak up, talk!, you don't say!." There may, however, be another word lost here; Dixon (1973: 32) writes that an interjection resembling *yagay* exists in a wide range of Australian languages where it "is shouted out—express(ing) sudden emotion, although there is considerable variation in the type of emotion from language to language".

(57) *exclamation*

People at Hope Vale cluck their tongues (say "tut tut tut") nowadays to suggest something unusual or remarkable. Roth (1901: 7) writes, by contrast, that this expression was "used as an exclamatory of swift motion, e.g., a fish shooting along in the water"—much like item (54) above.

(58) *article (demonstrative)*

The word "this" is rendered by *yiyi*; Roth's version is thus the closest. Note that *yi-* begins a large number of demonstrative pronouns (e.g., *yivay* ("here"), *yimuun* ("this one")) and in fact, *yimidhurr* ("this way"), in contrast to the word *nha* (e.g., in *nhaabada* ("that's the one"), *nhaway* ("over there"), etc.).

(59) *painted body decorations*

According to older speakers of Guugu Yimidhurr, decorative scars and stripes were called *murruru*, made with white clay called *gamay*. Roth suggests that Cook's word is really "kapan-da". The modern word *gaban* means "scratch, writing, letter, mark, book, etc.". The Ergative or Instrumental case form of the word would, indeed, be *gabanda* as in the sentence:

*ngayu nhangu gunday gabanda*—"I hit him with a book". Perhaps such a form was used in earlier times to describe decorative marks, as one could now say such decorations were painted "with white clay" (*gamaaynda*).

(60) *kangaroo*

As I mention above, a now rare species of large black kangaroo is called *gangurru* or, alternatively, *ngurrumugu* (not, as de Zwaan (1969b) writes, "wurumugu") in present speech.

(61) *proper name*

Roth (1901: 11) writes: "When on the Endeavour River in 1770, Lieutenant Cook describes the name of one of the natives as Yaborego: this family name still exists under the guise of Yaborego, and is derived from a particular spot in the neighbourhood of Cape Flattery". People at Hope Vale can still remember at least one old man who lived long ago on the McIvor River who was known as *ngamu yaaburrigu* ("Old man Yaaburrigu")—this *ngamu* being a traditional respectful title for elderly men.

Table 2 summarises these points.

TABLE 2  
Modern Guugu Yimidhurr Words

Item Number	English	Guugu Yimidhurr
1	head	ngaabazy (inland) ganbungu (coastal)
2	covering	baydyaaarrdyarr
3	hair	muri
4	eyes	misil
5	ear	milga
6	lips	yimbi
7	nose, face	budhiil (inland)
8	nose, beak, bill	bunhu (coastal)
9	tongue	nganhdaar
10	beard	walar
11	chest	dumi
12	breast, milk	guyuu
13	fish	guyu
14	hand, war	mangal
15	wing	mara
16	hand	mara (Gugu Yalanji)
17	leg, thigh	guman
18	skin	ngarri
19	navel	dhuburr
20	knees	bunggu
21	foot	dhamal
22	" This is a foot "	yiyi dhamal
23	heel	nhuru
24	white cockatoo	maandaar
25	sole of foot	dhamal (wauruge)
26	ankle	nugal
27	ankle bone	dhunggan
28	nails	gulg
29	sun	ngalan
30	fire	yugu (minhdhil)
31	flames	yugu erdunggurr
32	meat	minha
33	stone	nambal
34	sand	dhungaar
35	beach	yuwaal
36	on the beach	yuuwaalbay
37	rope, whip	gurrgaa (coastal)
38	rope	gumbin (inland)
39	(aboriginal) person	bama
40	male turtle	buunhda
41	female turtle	macomiingu
42	canoe	marragan (coastal)
43	(intent to) paddle	wangga (inland)
44	sit down!	biilinh
45	set (something) down (hypothetical)	dagaoyi
46	shell ornament	*dagay
47	fat, wealthy looking	mibaar
48	slippery	misymunk
49	dog	dhubbaarrbarr
50	native cat	gudaa
51	red and green parrot	dhigul
52	blood	birrlir
53	flying fox	gandi
54	wood	gaambil
55	nose-pin	yugu
56	dilly bag	dhabul
57		ngunyin
58		dhinburr

TABLE 2  
Modern Guugu Yimidhurr Words—continued

Item Number	English	Guugu Yimidhurr
49	shoulder	ngagu
50	arm	ngaggnul
51	forearm, wrist	marda
52	thumb, fingers	gutuurr
53	this is long	yiyi galbaaygu
54	little finger, little toe	ngagm
55	sky	dyiri
56	father	bitba
57	husband, etc.	dushu
58	child, etc.	yumurr
59	large clam shell	muunhahi
60	yame	gaangga
61	coconut	dyirimandi
62	tooth	mukir
63	chin	baari
64	front, in front, first	dhagaalbi
65	penis	gunul
66	pubic hair	gulun
67	testicles	beru
68	sticking out	dhirril
69	exclamation	dimbar
70	strong taste, bitter, salty	gundil
71	peak up! talk!	bigurrugu
72	too bad, no good	dyirru
73	too bad, no good	yirrgil
74	this	tut tus tut
75	decorative scars	yiyi
76	marks, writing (Ergative or Instrumental)	muurruur
77	white clay	gabanda
78	kangaroo	gamay
79		gangurru
80	proper name	ngurumagu
81		yaaburriign

The reader is now in a position to appreciate my earlier claims. It should be clear that—even allowing for some minor (and often predictable) changes in vocabulary—there is no evidence to suggest that Guugu Yimidhurr has changed radically from 1770 to the present. In fact there are evidently more pressures bringing about phonological and lexical changes in the language today than there have been in the past—through contact with English, and other languages. For example, the word *banydyi* ("brother-in-law") has largely replaced the Guugu Yimidhurr words *dunhu* and *ganyil* since the people returned from an aboriginal reserve near Rockhampton where they were in World War II. The word is probably of pidgin origin.) Most of Cook's words are completely recognizable today; and Roth's words (and their spellings) have been preserved through their appearance in hymns and in Schwarz's *Order of Services* still in use on the mission.

Close attention to the word lists reveals, in fact, that Cook's ears, untrained as they may have been, were more sensitive than (or at least equal to) those of later

investigators. Indeed, the title of this essay may be overly optimistic; it remains only for another fieldworker to go to Hope Vale to reject my transcriptions of Guugu Yimidhurr words as well, and take yet another look at Cook's list.

A more familiar lesson derives from this exercise. More numerous and more important than Cook's inaccuracies in transcription are his (and other investigators') mistakes in understanding what the words they elicit really mean. The dangers are equal whether we elicit by ostension (pointing to a penis and getting a word for "pubic hair") or by wordlist (asking for "the word for 'smooth'" and getting a word for "slippery"). It will often require both drudgery and flashes of ingenuity to penetrate beyond the words to, in J. L. Austin's phrase, "the realities we use the words to talk about".

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JOHN B. HAVILAND.

#### SAMO SIBLING TERMINOLOGY<sup>1</sup>

By DANIEL SHAW

**A**NTHROPOLOGISTS Nerlove and Romney and also Murdock have presented two approaches to classifying siblings. These typologies although bearing a considerable resemblance are distinct and result in mutually exclusive patterns. Nerlove and Romney arrive at twelve types, Murdock seven, some with sub-types.

In a recent article dealing with Polynesia, Firth also noted that "major types of sibling terminology can be isolated, but they are not neatly divided through the area, and some island communities have special usages which are anomalous from the point of view of systematic areal patterning" (Firth, 1970: 272).

This paper presents the sibling terminology found among the Samo, a group of subsistence horticulturalists living in the dense rain forest of the east Strickland Plain in the Nomad Sub-District of the Western District, Papua New Guinea (Shaw, 1973). They have an overlapping dual classification for siblings that can be used either in address or reference. This does not fit neatly into the above typologies, furthering Leach's point that butterfly collecting is not the business that we should be about (Leach, 1961: 2).

#### SAMO SIBLING TERMS

Until recently (1966 and continuing to the present in the more remote parts of the region), the Samo lived scattered through the forest in small hamlets consisting of a single long house. Each hamlet consisted of one or two elderly males whose sons and their wives and children comprised an extended family. Terminologically, the nuclear family is not recognized; the structure begins with the hamlet.

The hamlets within an area were linked by marriage alliances established by males who exchanged female siblings. Such alliances led to co-operation on ceremonial and military occasions. I shall examine Samo sibling terminology in the context of the hamlet and that group's relationships with other similar groups.

All individuals of ego's generation living in the hamlet are referred to and addressed by sibling terms regardless of their actual genealogical position. They are not thought of as true and classificatory siblings, but are equated in that all have the same rights and responsibilities.

Diagram 1 shows that an individual regardless of sex recognizes the relative age of all siblings and makes a sex distinction for those older than himself.

<sup>1</sup>This paper is based on fieldwork carried out from February, 1970, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Special thanks are due to Dr. Alan Healey and Dr. Andrew Strathern for comments on an earlier draft.

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